help each other. If they are sometimes, indeed too often, fleeced by middlemen—and it would seem that the various European administrations, no matter what their nationality, should prevent such speculations in their own best interests—if the natives are fleeced, a European ignorant of the customs and the language would be fleeced all the more. Who would guard his herds during his absence; who would lead them to far markets if he stayed home? It is difficult to find a native [181] who can be fully trusted. At present, however, trading in livestock is the only possible source of profit in the country.

The forthcoming railroad will soon change trade conditions and promote the interests of the Europeans without undermining those of the natives. This is to be desired, because Mossi country will only come fully into its own when its products can be exported. The natives were too long isolated as a result of their continuous warfare, and the nabas, it must be said, were too inclined to monopolize all the goods, for trade to develop in a significant way. The French peace, by making the roads safe, has already done much for the country; it will achieve even more when the railroad which is now cutting across Mossi country links it on the one hand to the Ivory Coast and on the other hand to the Niger Colony. Trade will then no longer be carried out exclusively with the Germans and the British, and as soon as native products find sure channels of export, the raising of livestock and agriculture itself will be greatly extended. The Mossi are not averse to trade. [181 439] They actually seem to possess a real knack for it, which until now they have had no opportunity to exercise freely. They have not yet taken full advantage of their transactions, and this is why they seemed to some observers to have no aptitude for trade. They will adapt to it, as they already are.

/65/ Chapter 3. Hygiene, Disease, Death, and Burial

828 774 787 Part of life, especially the life of a Black, is spent in sleep, but the slumberer is sometimes disturbed by dreams that are more or less extraordinary. The Mossi attribute dreams to ancestral and other spirits. They also say that the soul leaves the body during sleep and does the things witnessed in the dream. Sorcerers are consulted to find out what caused the dreams and how to cope with the bad omens.

776 kikiriga, in turn, are to ward off anything that might harm the crop,
241 birds, caterpillars, thieves, and the like, and to fill with millet a granary of the size drawn on the ground with ashes at the time of harvest. If the kikiriga has properly carried out his duties, he gets another chicken when all the grain has been gathered in a heap.
776 Pregnant women are under the protection of a special kikiriga, and
[843] small children have one of their own to ward off illness and danger. Do we not say ourselves that a special Providence watches over the very young?

776 Actually, everyone has his kikiriga. Some have an evil one, and
828 those are the people who quarrel with everybody, the ones who are never successful, whose livestock dies, for the kikirsi often kill the
[717] goats, sheep, and horses that die of illness. Other people have a good kikiriga, and for them everything goes well; they were born under a lucky star. These are the engaging, sweet, good-natured people
[513] who get rich and who have many children. When a Mossi lies down to sleep in his hut, he rests his head on a stone or a small mound of beaten earth. This is where his kikiriga dwells, and from time to time, especially when he feels the need for special protection, he
[782] sacrifices a guinea hen or sometimes even a goat, with the understanding that the spirit will chase away all fellow spirits who might want to harm him and will avert all illness and all danger from his path.

/83/ The tangandé is a spirit who has the shape of an animal and
776 who is regarded as the protector of a village. The term is also ex-
778 tended to designate the spirit's place of residence, usually the sacred
825 grove but sometimes a mere stone or even an open space. The tangandé may be a crocodile, a boa, a leopard, a turtle, a deer, a hare, etc. The animal is sacred to the whole village and may not be killed in the sacred grove, but it may be killed elsewhere, even a short distance from the thicket.

776 The tangandé is a guardian spirit because it protects men and sends
755 its servants to accompany the village people on trips when they request it to do so. The natives incessantly turn to it for protection, and the sorcerers incessantly refer those who consult them to the tangandé to obtain cures and to request the release of souls held captive
776 by evil sorcerers. When someone dies, sacrifices are made to the
782 tangandé with requests to protect the survivors and to ward off illness.
[774] When souls leave the body during sleep, they often go to the sacred grove. Anyone may sacrifice to the tangandé and in the tangandé.

774 In the course of a dream, the soul may warn its owner of a threaten-
828 ing danger. One day a native, whose village and name were told to
761 me, dreamed that his enemy offered him a kola nut. Much anxiety ensued, for this is a sign used by the soul to indicate that an enemy threatens one with death. In such a case there is only one remedy, to deposit a few cowries on a nest of large red ants, so they will avert the disaster. The man set out immediately for the nearest ant nest. Alas, a snake bit him along the way, and he died before he could offer his gift to the ants! Such occurrences obviously make a profound imprint on the imagination of the natives, who immediately react with the sophism: post hoc, propter hoc. A few such cases are sufficient to anchor them forever in their superstitions, and innumerable such occurrences were related to me.

774 If the soul can leave the body, it is possible to seize it and to pre-
761 vent it from re-entering its body, and this is why our Blacks do not like to be photographed. They say that there is an evil spirit in the box, who takes the soul and eats it. This is proved by the fact that the individual may later be seen on the piece of paper.

774 One becomes sick when his soul cannot re-enter the body because
753 it is held prisoner by an evil sorcerer or by a kikiriga, and many sacrifices must be offered to obtain its release /86/ and return. Entreaties are usually directed to the tangandé in such cases, because it is stronger than all the other spirits, stronger even than the sorcerers, and because its function is to protect the village.

774 Sometimes the soul was so well hidden that the tangandé cannot
761 find it: the sorcerer has eaten it right away, or the tangandé itself
754 is in collusion; or the ancestral spirits are calling the sick person; or,
775 finally, it is God who sent the disease. Nothing can be done, and the person dies. His soul changes names, and henceforth is called kyma. It leaves the body at the moment of death. If it was taken by a sorcerer or by the ancestral spirits, at the moment of death it leaves the sacred grove where it was held captive. It proceeds to the place of souls from where it will return to the grave whenever sacrifices are offered to it. It will also return if it wishes to afflict the survivors with a disease of some sort.

775 Is the soul punished for the evil it has done on earth and rewarded
735 for the good? Opinions on the subject differ. Some say that when one gives alms to the poor, and the Mossi frequently do, when one is generous and hospitable, God takes all that has been given and sets

755 so that my heart may rejoice unceasingly. Then I will come back with another chicken, so that you too may rejoice and continue to protect my wives and my children." Then the sacrifice is concluded. This formula does indicate that the power of the medicine is wholly ascribed to God.

751 Certain superstitious practices that belong in the tim category are used in special cases. For the sake of curiosity, here is what is done when a man has killed a hyena and to protect the huts against lightning.

[82] If a man kills a hyena, he must hastily consult some other native who previously has killed one, or he will become raving mad. The hunter goes to such a man who knows a remedy against this raving madness and takes him a chicken. The man indicates which roots must be obtained, and the hunter gathers them in the bush. He cuts them to pieces and brings them to his doctor who seizes a jar, grabs the chicken, and pulls it toward the roots, then says while pouring water into the jar: "God-tim and his kikiriga, arise, stretch out your hand, and take this water to drink it; take this chicken to eat it, and grant the man who has killed a hyena not to become raving mad." He sacrifices the chicken and pours the blood into the pot. Then he puts half of the roots into the jar and reduces the other half to ashes.

The hunter takes the whole thing home, and for seven days he puts water from the medicine into his millet mush and ashes from the roots into his sauce.

On the seventh day all the family members get together and come with their friends to greet the hunter. They all toss cowries into the gourd which contains the medicine, then proceed to market with much ceremony. The hunter fastens the head of the hyena to the end of a staff and bears it triumphantly to market. He has /102/ the right to take pistachios, beans, millet, cakes, etc., free of charge, anything he wishes. When he is finished taking things, stealing like a hyena, the procession falls into line once more and proceeds to a thick tree near the market. There, the hunter drives his staff into the ground, and everybody starts dancing around him; then they take small sticks and strike him, and he hastily runs away. He is now sure that he will not become raving mad, and what is more from now on he may kill as many hyenas as he wishes without fear.

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bush is included in the orderly universe which the Mossi have fabricated, it exists at the periphery and is a thing to be feared. The name of this unknown and unowned part of the bush is synonymous with fear. Dreams in which an individual sees frightening images are called "bush creeping up" (*weogo doore*) or "bush traps you" (*weogo n'yoko fo*). These phrases are also used to describe the emotional shock, the feeling of fear, elicited by the unexpected sight of a frightening object like a corpse or a lion.

Most important among the supernatural beings inhabiting the bush are the twin spirits (*kikirdisi*). Living in pairs or in larger groups, they inhabit the bush, caves, baobab trees, and certain dense thickets of underbrush. While specific details vary, it is generally conceded that they are small, about a foot tall, black like the Mossi, and of both sexes. Their social organization is like that of men: each group is ruled over by a twin spirit-chief (*Kikirdisi Naba*).

Twin children are always regarded as the emissaries of the twin spirits. Shortly after the birth of twins their mother takes a present of food to a place where the twin spirits are known to dwell. Leaving the gift and expressing her thanks, she also makes it clear to the twin spirits that if they have any sort of malicious intent in sending her their children they might as well take them back immediately, since she will tolerate no foolishness. If, through her new children, they plan to torment her, they should save their efforts and desist at once. While the twin spirits are frequently mischief-makers, they are more frivolous than malicious and essentially neither good nor evil. The death of newborn twins is accepted with relief, for it is believed certain that the twin spirits have been thwarted in their mischievous intent and have conceded defeat.

THE ECONOMIC AND CEREMONIAL CYCLE

A brief description of the economic cycle and the ceremonials which mark its phases will serve to illustrate the way the Mossi perceive their relationship to the forces of their natural, supernatural, and social milieux and the methods by which they seek to assure their well-being through control of these forces. The year is usually divided into twelve moons whose names refer either to the principal economic activity of the season or to a ceremonial which accompanies it.

The first moon of the Mossi year is called "Gambo" after the name of the village which celebrates its first rain-making ceremony (*Tengana*) at this time. Although the rains are still five or six months away, this ritual marks the beginning of the new economic cycle. Each household which possesses land controlled by the earth custodian sends one of its young girls with an offering of millet gruel to place at the altar of Tenga Wende, the terrestrial manifestation of the deity. The earth custodian advises